Bridge of Civilizations

The Near East and Europe
c. 1100–1300

edited by

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Introduction

In May 2018 the Saint Adalbert Conference Centre, Esztergom, hosted a conference entitled ‘Bridge of Civilizations: The Near East and Europe *c*.1100–1300’. It was timed to mark the 800th anniversary of the crusade of King Andrew II in 1217–18, the only occasion on which a crowned king of Hungary would lead an army to the Holy Land. Twenty-seven papers were read, and in addition seven postgraduate students from the Pázmány Péter Catholic University enlivened the proceedings with poster presentations. We are delighted to be able to publish the majority of the papers and posters here in this volume.

It has to be said that Hungary’s experience of crusaders and the crusading movement generally was not happy. In the First Crusade bands of crusaders had looted the countryside and fought the local people. On the Second Crusade the king of Hungary was persuaded to levy a large sum of money from the Church which he gave to the German king, Conrad III, for buying provisions while his army passed through the kingdom; only thus could the crusaders be prevented from pillaging as they went. Although Hungarians participated in the Third Crusade,[1] a new low was reached in 1202 when, at the behest of the Venetians, the army of the Fourth Crusade captured the Hungarian port of Zadar despite papal commands to the contrary and despite the fact that the then king of Hungary – indeed the only western monarch on that occasion to have done so – had himself taken the cross.

A link with the Latin states in the East had been established at some point in about 1170 when the future King Béla III (1172–96) married Agnes, the daughter of Constance, princess of Antioch, and her husband, Reynald of Châtillon. This marriage, which was closely intertwined with Byzantine diplomacy – Agnes’s half-sister Maria was married to the emperor Manuel I Komnenos – proved fruitful: among the sons born to Agnes was Andrew, the future king and participant in the Fifth Crusade. Shortly before Béla’s accession to the throne the couple were planning to go to Jerusalem as pilgrims, although almost certainly they never went, and they made a substantial grant to the Hospitallers. Béla’s second wife was Margaret, the widow of Henry ‘the Young King’ and daughter of King Louis VII of France. Henry, who had been heir to the throne of England, had vowed to go on crusade, and both Louis and Margaret’s brother Philip Augustus of France did indeed go to the East. On Béla III’s death, Margaret herself travelled as a pilgrim to the Holy Land where she died shortly after her arrival. By then Hungarian interest in crusading was growing in significance. The late twelfth-century legends of Saint László, the king of Hungary (1077–95) who was canonized in 1192, made him out to have been a crusader, and at some point, probably in the build-up to the Emperor Henry VI’s crusade in the mid 1190s, King Béla himself took the cross.[2]

Andrew became king in 1205. He had already accepted that he should fulfil his father’s crusading obligations. Successive popes permitted him to postpone his departure, and it was only when the preparations for the Fifth Crusade were under way that Andrew made plans in earnest. He sent envoys to Venice to arrange transport to the East, and it was agreed that the ships were to be ready in the harbour at Split towards the end of July 1217. As part of the deal he had to recognize Venetian possession of Zadar. Andrew’s expedition included his cousin, Duke Leopold

[1] See James Ross Sweeney, ‘Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218’, *International History Review* 3 (1981), 467–80, at 471–72.
[2] Sweeney, ‘Hungary in the Crusades’, 472–75.

VI of Austria, and Duke Otto of Merania, Andrew's first wife's brother. Leopold, who was to remain in the East until May 1219, departed for the Holy Land immediately, but Andrew delayed for several weeks as the size of his forces far outstripped the shipping that was available.

On his arrival in Acre, Andrew hosted a conference of all the leading figures: besides his own leading men and the dukes of Austria and Merania, the assembled company included John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, King Hugh I of Cyprus, Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli, the masters of the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, and a formidable array of bishops. A large army had assembled, but a shortage of foodstuffs following a poor harvest that year meant high prices and unrest. The crusaders, at least so far as the remainder of 1217 and the early part of 1218 were concerned, had only limited strategic aims. Whereas an assault on Egypt had formed the object of the crusade from the outset, it was evidently deemed prudent to wait until the arrival of more forces and sufficient supplies the following spring. Instead the crusade could be used to focus Muslim attention on northern Palestine rather than Egypt and strengthen the position of Acre which predictably would have to sustain diversionary attacks once the main army had moved south.

So in November the crusaders launched a major military demonstration which took them through Galilee, across the Jordan and up the east coast of the Lake of Tiberias. The Muslims feared an assault on Damascus, but instead the crusaders simply re-crossed the Jordan and returned to Acre. They then, this time without the presence of King Andrew, launched an attack on the Ayyubid stronghold on Mount Tabor, but that came to nothing and on 7 December the army withdrew. A raid, which seems to have included a significant number of the Hungarians, advanced into the mountainous areas to the southeast of Sidon but was ambushed and the Christians suffered heavy losses. All this may seem inconsequential, but the alternative, which was to have the assembled army do nothing, was clearly out of the question.

At the beginning of January, despite protests and the threat of excommunication by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Andrew set off on the first stage of his journey home. According to Thomas of Spalato he had been ill with poisoning, although that assertion is uncorroborated and deserves scant credence. Taking with him a substantial section of his men and their equipment, the king made his way northwards up the coast in the company of King Hugh of Cyprus and Prince Bohemond of Antioch. At Tripoli he attended Bohemond's marriage to Hugh's half-sister, and it was there, on 10 January, that Hugh, who was still only in his early twenties, suddenly died. Andrew proceeded on his way, visiting the celebrated Hospitaller fortresses of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat where, following the example of his father many years before, he made generous grants to the Hospitallers. The details of these gifts are preserved in papal letters of confirmation. Andrew's route then took him to Cilician Armenia where he betrothed one of his sons to the king's daughter, and then on through the sultanate of Rūm and the territory of the Nicaean empire, where he betrothed another son, the future Béla IV, to the daughter of Theodore Laskaris. And so on to Constantinople and thence to Hungary.

Unsurprisingly Andrew's departure drew strident criticism from contemporary authors, and the verdict of more modern historians has been correspondingly harsh. Writing in 1962, T.C. Van Cleve concluded:

> His crusade had achieved nothing and brought him no honour. He returned to an impoverished country whose treasury had been so pillaged by both lay and spiritual

> lords that the debts incurred for the crusade could not be paid. Such was the ineffectual conclusion of the Hungarian phase of the Fifth Crusade. The Latin orient had been deceived in its hopes of the Hungarian king and disillusioned by his conduct, some people believing that his expedition had actually damaged the crusading cause.[3]

However, as a summation of the events of these years, these remarks require substantial revision. For a start, the claim that it brought Andrew no honour is plainly wrong. The historical tradition that celebrated his chivalry and sanctity originated in Hungary shortly after his return from crusade, and his reputation grew to new heights in the late fifteenth century with the publication of Johannes de Thurcocz's *Chronica Hungariae* (1488). Then, at a time when the threat of Ottoman invasion had become all too real, the nobility, especially in the southern parts of the Hungarian kingdom, began consciously seeking to link their family ancestry with Andrew and the Fifth Crusade.[4] But other recent research, while not challenging the essential outline of the narrative, has had the effect of placing the whole expedition and Andrew's behaviour in a more credible and less reprehensible context. To understand what was going on, it is necessary to sketch in some background.[5]

John of Brienne had married the heiress to the throne of Jerusalem in 1210. He had come to the East with a respectable number of knights, but no major magnates. His army was certainly not large by crusading standards, although he did have access to substantial funds provided by Pope Innocent III and King Philip Augustus of France. But his war against the Muslims at the start of his reign in 1210 and 1211 achieved nothing of note, and he agreed a six-year truce. The Fifth Crusade was deliberately timed to coincide with its end. Not only had John failed to take advantage of the opportunity to wage war on his Muslim neighbours, but his ability to play a dominant role in the affairs in the East was also quickly undermined by quarrels with King Hugh of Cyprus and significant elements in his own nobility, notably the Ibelin family. His position was further weakened by the death of his wife, which meant that from 1212 onwards he was in effect simply the regent for his infant daughter.

In April 1213 Pope Innocent III had called for a new crusade with the bull *Quia maior*. Planning went ahead, and it was decided that the expedition should begin in June 1217. This meant that when in July 1216 Innocent died, preparations were already advanced. The new pope, Honorius III, took up the challenge. By then it was apparent that the only king of a western European country who could go was Andrew. In England the new king was a child and the kingdom in the throes of a civil war. In France the ageing Philip Augustus was clearly not prepared to go to the East again, while the involvement of his son, the future Louis VIII, in England and of many of the more bellicose of his nobles in the series of wars known as the Albigensian Crusade meant that too many people were preoccupied elsewhere. In Germany and the empire, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was still asserting his control after the long period of political dislocation stretching back to the 1190s that had characterized his childhood.

3 Thomas C. Van Cleve in Kenneth M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*. 6 vols (Madison 1955–84), 2:394.

4 Hrvoje Kekez, 'Croats and the Fifth Crusade: Did two members of the Babonić noble family accompany King Andrew II of Hungary on his crusade?' in *The Fifth Crusade in context: The crusading movement in the early thirteenth century*, ed. E. J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith and Jan Vandeburie (Abingdon, 2017), 205–17, at 205.

5 For what follows, see in particular Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216–1227* (Turnhout, 2017), 103–25; Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c.1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013).

As we have seen, by the second decade of the thirteenth century, the Hungarian royal house had developed a series of links with the crusading movement and the Latin East. Andrew's maternal grandfather, Reynald of Châtillon, had died what was arguably a martyr's death directly after the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187. His step-mother – and it should be remembered that his own mother had passed away when he was aged about seven – had been the daughter and sister of crusading kings and had herself died in the Holy Land. Hungary was wealthy, there was considerable potential support for crusade preaching, and a strong ecclesiastical structure was now firmly in place. What was more, in February 1213, some months before Innocent's crusading bull, *Quia maior*, Andrew had declared his intention to make ready to go on crusade, and it is possible that this announcement encouraged Innocent's decision to issue his bull. Early in 1217 Pope Honorius was urging crusaders in the Rhineland to hurry up because Andrew was nearly ready to set off, but at the same time he was upbraiding Andrew for his dilatoriness. In February the pope confirmed that Andrew's kingdom and personal possessions were under papal protection; that in the event of his death on crusade Béla, his eldest son, would succeed him; and that five or six of his guardians were to be absolved from their crusading vows so that they could remain behind to look after him.

The only other king who had vowed to go on crusade was Frederick II. He had taken the cross at his coronation as king of the Romans at Aachen in July 1215. But although the papal registers show that Honorius was in touch with Frederick about the crusade as early as April 1217, his correspondence does not suggest that the pope imagined that Frederick would depart for the East in the immediate future. Indeed, the papal letters suggest that the idea that the emperor ought to be preparing to go and assume control only started to be seriously considered around the beginning of 1219. So it would seem that in 1217 in the eyes of the pope, Andrew, as the sole crowned head who was involved, was marked out as the leader of the expedition. The idea that the pope regarded Andrew as the overall commander is never stated explicitly, but it is clearly implied. In this connection it is significant that in July 1217, on the eve of Andrew's departure, the pope was telling the crusaders that the main western contingents were to convene in Cyprus in September and at the same time inviting John of Brienne, the patriarch of Jerusalem and the heads of the Military Orders to join them or send representatives. Not only is there no mention of Frederick II, but the implication of the wording of these letters is that the pope saw Andrew as the central figure in the crusade with Leopold of Austria as his second-in-command. The fact that the meeting was to take place in Cyprus and not in the kingdom of Jerusalem may well imply that the pope was aiming to prevent John of Brienne from taking the lead. John's relations with the king of Cyprus had been poor, and holding the meeting there may well also have been seen as a deliberate snub.

In the event things did not work out as either Honorius or Andrew may have hoped, and historians have on the whole been dismissive of Andrew's role. He and duke Leopold had assembled a large force, and their close ties of blood with the other leaders should have given the expedition a strong sense of coherence. In marked contrast to the well-known miscalculation on the Fourth Crusade, the shipping provided by the Venetians proved to be insufficient to transport the entire army. Quite how large the force that Andrew, Leopold and their associates had managed to put together is hard to estimate, although an upper figure of 4,000 mounted warriors has been suggested. What is known of the preparations and recruitment point to a well-planned expedition that should have been large enough to make an impact on the military situation in the East. For what it is worth, a mid-fourteenth-century Hungarian chronicle states that Andrew was the leader and that he led the army to a notable victory.

The proposed meeting on Cyprus did not take place, and instead the initial discussions of military strategy took place in Andrew's tent at Acre. What was said on that occasion or in subsequent conversations is not known, although certainly an assault on Damietta was already envisaged. Holding the meeting in Andrew's tent may imply that Andrew, the host, was taking charge, but it could well be that John of Brienne, with his local knowledge of the military practicalities, managed to upstage Andrew. Although Andrew was later to justify his departure at the beginning of 1218 on the grounds that he was receiving reports of unrest and dissension in Hungary, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that his real reason for leaving was that in the face of opposition from King John he had been unable to assert control over the crusade. The fact that the first stage of his journey home was in the company of John's long-term opponent, King Hugh I of Cyprus, adds plausibility to this belief. Admittedly trouble did break out in Hungary during his absence, although the regent, Archbishop John of Esztergom, seems to have been well able to deal with it.

Andrew's departure was a huge loss to the crusade, and so it is not surprising that contemporaries spoke ill of him, but the older ideas that he was never very serious or that his expedition was ill-planned are contradicted by the evidence to be gleaned from the papal archives. Honorius remained sufficiently well disposed towards Andrew and the possibility of his continued involvement in the affairs of the East to confirm the betrothal of his son to the Armenian princess,[6] although in fact the marriage did not take place. In any case, the advent of the Mongols in 1241 meant that any further Hungarian involvement in the crusades to the Holy Land was out of the question.

*

The conference was designed to highlight aspects of the links or contrasts between the areas around the eastern end of the Mediterranean occupied by the crusaders and western Europe with special reference to archaeology, material culture and history. In 2007 the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM) began a full-scale investigation of the castle of Margat (al-Marqab). Despite the conflict, work has continued there, and, more recently, SHAM has also become involved in work at Crac des Chevaliers which, as widely reported, suffered significant damage a few years ago. Both castles were greatly enlarged by the Hospitallers and held by them until late in the thirteenth century. A number of contributions to the conference reported on the findings at these two sites. Balász Major, the Hungarian director of SHAM, explains the building history of Margat, and he is supported by his colleagues at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Hungary, Bendegúz Takáts and Zsolt Vágner, who have contributed papers on some of the more technical aspects of these projects. At the conference a group of postgraduate students had poster displays arising from work of the SHAM, and several of them, Erzsébet Bojtár, Nóra Buránszki, Zsófia Csóka, Dávid Kotán, Zsófia Márk and Teofil Rétfalvi, have written up their material for publication here. Looking to the future, Marwan Hassan discusses the management of Margat as a centre for tourism, while his Syrian colleague, Mayssam Youssef, examines what is known of cooking facilities in the castles, and Ibrahim Kherbek surveys what is known the medieval Latakia. The theme of medieval fortifications in the Near East is taken further with contributions from Micaela Sinibaldi on Jordanian castle at Karak, held by Reynald of Châtillon from 1176 until his death at Ḥaṭṭīn in July 1187, and Anis Chaaya on the fortifications of Jubayl, the property of the Genoese Embriaci family for almost the whole

6 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227). Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)* (Leiden, 2013), 336–37.

of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Lebanon features prominently with other papers on surviving medieval bridges by Andrew Petersen and on the archaeology of churches by Hany Kahwagi-Janho and Nada Hélou. Patricia Antaki-Masson contributes an article on piscinas in churches in the Latin East. Slightly further afield, Júlia Sárközi considers urban development in Cairo and Nicholas Coureas what is known about metal workers in Cyprus around the year 1300. Turning away from archaeology and material culture, Denys Pringle draws attention to a medieval pilgrimage account from Hungary to the Holy Land and Dániel Bácsatyai looks at two minor military orders in Hungary, while Peter Edbury addresses the problem of the portrayal of the Sultan al-Kāmil, the sultan who came to power during the Fifth Crusade, in a contemporary western narrative.

*

The conference marked the 800th anniversary of the Hungarian crusade entitled 'Bridge of Civilizations: The Near East and Europe *c.*1100–1300' and was held in Esztergom, the early medieval capital of Hungary. It was organized by the Institute of Archaeology of the Faculty of Humanities of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University from the University Research Grants (KAP17-61022-1.9-BTK; KAP17-61030-1.13-BTK and KAP18-51031-1.13). The co-organizer of the conference was the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission which is the joint research project of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University and the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of the Syrian Arab Republic. The publication of the conference proceedings was made possible by a generous grant from the Ministry of Human Capacities of Hungary.

Castles and Warfare

1

Constructing a Medieval Fortification in Syria: Margat between 1187 and 1285

Balázs Major

Margat (Qalᶜat al-Marqab), one of the largest medieval fortifications in the Near East, overlooks the Mediterranean coast from the top of a roughly triangular volcanic plateau about 360 m above sea level. The fortified site covers six hectares, of which the southernmost contains the castle itself, often called the citadel (Fig. 1.1). Despite its impressive size and evident importance, we have very little information on its history and virtually nothing on the site's construction.[1] It is, however, evident from the textual evidence and a close examination of the remains that most of the surviving structures on the mountain-top were built by the Knights of Saint John, who were in possession from 1187 until 1285.



Figure 1.1. Margat: the plateau from the south-east showing the citadel on the left and behind it the fortified inner suburb (*photo: B. Takáts*).

[1] Balázs Major, 'The Master Plan of al-Marqab Citadel. Historical Background', in *Project Defence System on the Mediterranean Coast.* Euromed Heritage II Project ME8/AIDCO/200/2095-11 (Spain, 2008): 162–74.

One of the main aims of the research programme of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM), which started its work in 2007, was to clarify the construction history of the site. Besides offering a good example of the development of a medieval fortification, it is one of the best sites for seeing how the Order of Saint John developed a major fortress of its own after the catastrophic defeat at Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 and at a time of a revolution in military architecture. Although Margat was continuously inhabited until 1958 – a cause of much damage to the medieval buildings and stratigraphy – the architectural surveys, laboratory analyses and excavations have found clear evidence for the principal periods in which the bulk of the fortification was constructed.

The pre-Hospitaller heritage

According to the sources, the first castle was founded in 1062 by local tribes,[2] and it is likely that this original structure was located on the highest northern parts of the plateau, which were the easiest to defend and which offered the best view over the surrounding countryside. The north-westernmost point is in fact the area where the earliest remains were identified during the past seasons. The fall of the site into Byzantine hands in 1104[3] and then the Crusader occupation in 1117/18[4] certainly resulted in the enlargement of the existing fortress. We do not yet know precisely when the fortifications came to encompass the whole of the mountain plateau, but according to recent research and radiocarbon dating it seems to have happened at the latest at the beginning of the 1140s, when the Mazoirs regained the castle from the local Muslims.[5] From this period onwards the lower, southern half of the mountain became the centre for intensive building activities. It is difficult to reconstruct the precise shape of the southern part of the mountain in the pre-1187 period as the Order's architects considerably altered the site when building the later Hospitaller castle. However, it is clear that by the end of the Mazoir period the castle on the southern part of the plateau had a lower court encircled by a thick wall bordering the natural escarpment. The inner side of this outer line of walls was supported by a long range of huge pointed barrel-vaults in a V-shape (W and U). As a northern continuation of the eastern wall, a separate vaulted hall (S1) was also built. There were also a number of structures on the elevated central zone of the southern mountain plateau, and it is probable that these buildings were also connected in a single defensive line. Thus the lower courtyard bordered by the vaults and the upper zone formed a kind of concentric castle design. By the 1180s this would have been a logical development in the castle of one of the most influential families of the Latin East.

The Hospitaller period

Margat, the nearby episcopal town of Valenia and all the landed possessions of the Mazoirs were purchased by the Order of Saint John on 1 February 1187.[6] The acquisition of these vast domains was accompanied by an immediate reorganization of the Hospitaller hierarchy in Syria, with Margat acquiring a leading place as the centre of the new 'palatinate'.[7] The military disaster

[2] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī), *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khubadī, 7 vols. (Beirut, *nd.*), 5: 127.

[3] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*. trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London, 2003), 365.

[4] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir), *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa'l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 85–86.

[5] Caffaro de Caschifellone, 'De liberatione civitatum orientis liber', in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1895), 66–67.

[6] Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Varia Antiochena. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1993), 176.

[7] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), 431.

of Ḥaṭṭīn just six months later and the loss of most of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was followed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's northern campaign in the summer of 1188, raised the importance of Margat as one of the few fortresses to remain in Crusader hands. From the autumn of 1188 everything to the north of Margat became a contested war zone to the extent that even the nearby Valenia seems not to have been resettled until at least the 1230s.[8] Thus Margat became the most northerly Christian stronghold of the county of Tripoli, although historically it had been the southernmost point of the principality of Antioch, from which it was now separated by the newly acquired territories of the sultanate of Aleppo. The importance of the new Hospitaller strongpoint in the now much reduced Crusader states is attested by a number of written sources. For example, it was here that in 1191 Richard the Lionheart's fleet made its first landfall on its way from Cyprus to Palestine and it was here that the English king left his captive Isaac Komnenos, the self-acclaimed Byzantine ruler of Cyprus, in the custody of the Hospitallers.[9]

The thirteenth-century history of the site began with the devastating earthquake of May 1202 which hit the castle severely, although according to a contemporary source it remained defensible.[10] Margat seems to have been held in high regard by the leadership of the Order, especially by Afonso of Portugal who was Grand Master between 1202 and 1206 and had the Order's Chapter General convened in Margat at some point between 1204 and 1206.[11] The castle remained the judicial and administrative centre of the region in the thirteenth century, and until 1285 it also served as the residence of the bishop of Valenia.[12] At the same time the Order also assumed control over the appointment of the bishops.[13] According to a pilgrim's account from 1212, more than 500 carts were needed for the region's harvests, and the castle was a collecting point for the local produce with sufficient storage for provisions to last five years.[14] The revenues of the Hospitallers were supplemented by donations from abroad, such as the annual grant of 100 silver marks from Hungary decreed by King Andrew II in 1218 when he visited the castle in person.[15]

In keeping with its might in northern Syria, in the first decades of the thirteenth century the Order pursued an active foreign policy,[16] with the result that the castle was put to the test twice by Ayyubid counter strikes. It was besieged by an army from Aleppo in 1204/5,[17] and in 1231

8 Balázs Major, 'Where was the Town of Valenia Located in the Thirteenth Century?', in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant. The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, ed. Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin J. Lewis, Balázs Major and Jennifer A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), 117–30.

9 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* 2.41, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 38.1 (London, 1864), 204; Paul Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte* 3: *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973), 265–66.

10 Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Two Unpublished Letters of the Syrian Earthquake of 1202', in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honour of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. Sami A. Hanna (Leiden, 1972): 295–310, at 303.

11 Anthony Luttrell, 'Afonso of Portugal, Mater of the Hospital: 1202/3–1206', in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2014): 197–206, at 206.

12 Emmanuel Guillaume Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^me et XIII^me siècles* (Paris, 1883), 335.

13 Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, 413.

14 Wilbrand of Oldenburg, *Itinerarium* 1.11, ed. Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition', *Crusades* 11 (2012), 109–37, at 121–22; trans. idem, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham, 2012), 69–70.

15 *Cartulaire général de 1'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1906) 2: 239–40, no. 1603; *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis*, ed. György Fejér (Buda, 1832), 1: 237–38.

16 Balázs Major, 'Al-Malik al-Mujāhid, Ruler of Homs, and the Hospitallers', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Zsolt Hunyadi (Budapest, 2001), 63–67.

17 Ibn Wāṣil (Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn Wāṣil), *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*), ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-

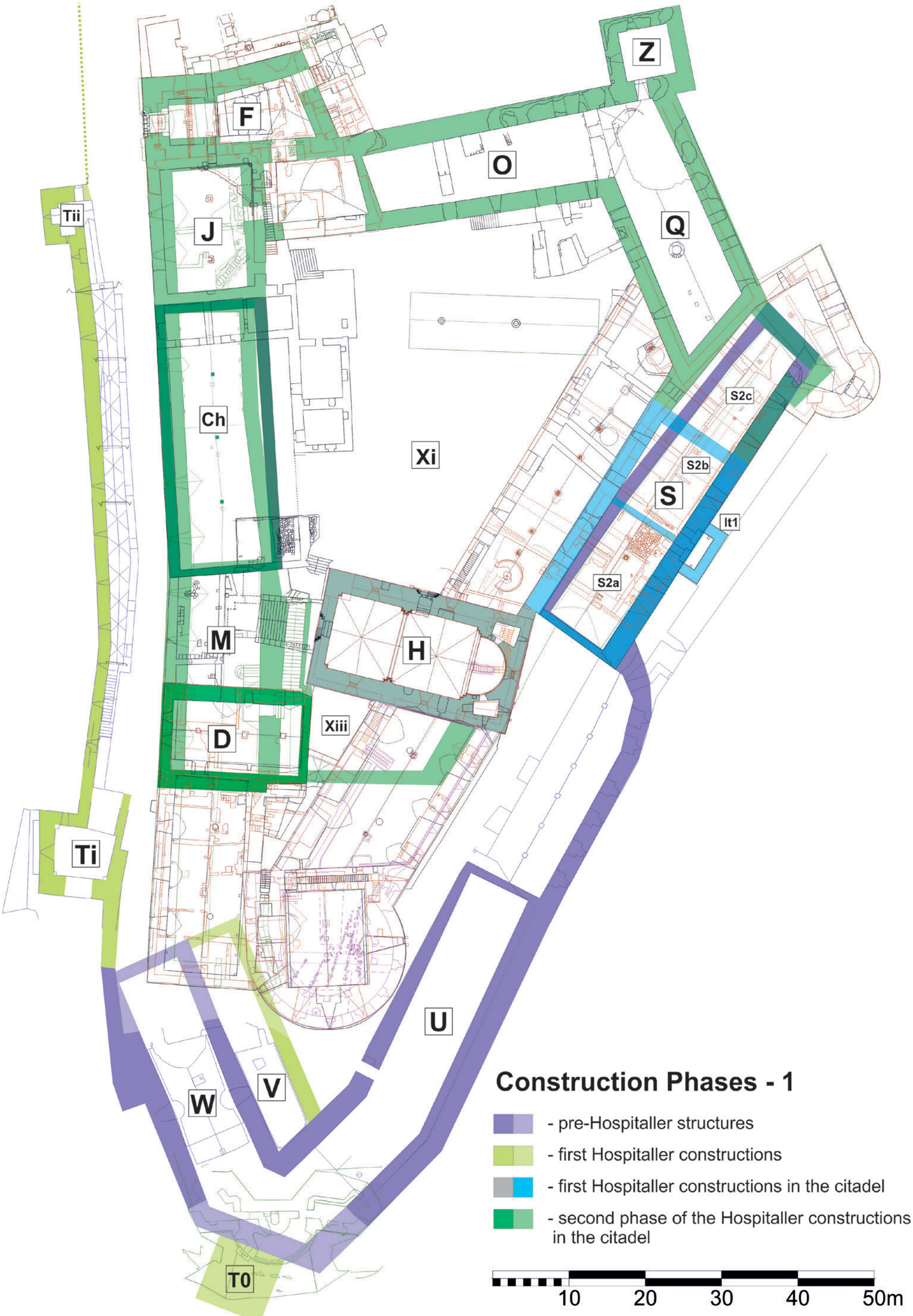


Figure 1.2. Margat: first Hospitaller construction period in the citadel (*drawn by B. Major*).

the Aleppans destroyed the lands around the castle.[18] The second half of the thirteenth century saw the weakening of the position of the Latin states, and attacks on their dwindling territories became more numerous. In 1271 Sultan Baybars took the sister fortress of Crac (Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn), but two attempts by the Muslims to take Margat in 1269–1270[19] and again in 1281[20] and 1282[21] ended in failure. Margat was finally taken by Sultan Qalāwūn on 25 May 1285 after a siege lasting over five weeks.[22] According to the sources, the sultan agreed the garrison's offer of peace to save the castle from further damage,[23] and the destruction caused by the siege was repaired immediately. The Latins never recovered the site, and within six years what remained of the Crusader states on the Levantine coast had also succumbed.

The First Construction Period

Our fieldwork has shown that there is relatively little left of the pre-Hospitaller castle, most of which would have been considered outdated and was therefore destroyed by the architects of the new fortifications. Thus, apart from the ever important financial and political constraints and the geographical factors, there were few elements from the earlier buildings that affected the design of the new construction. The importance of the castle is clearly reflected in the architectural remains and archaeological evidence. From them one can gain an insight into the careful planning that lay behind the construction sequence, with all the major elements seemingly conceived from the very beginning no matter how long it would take to complete them. Another consideration of utmost importance in these belligerent years was that the site had to be defensible at all times (Figs 1.2–4).

The outer walls

The main concept was that the principal element in the fortifications, the Hospitaller castle, would occupy the southern part of the Margat plateau as this would be the most vulnerable point in the event of a siege. On its southern side the plateau slopes downwards towards the narrow neck which connects it to the adjacent elevated plateau. This topographical weakness had to be compensated for with a series of huge buildings, their façades arranged in a concentric defensive line. That would seem to have been the strategy also employed in the previous Mazoir fortress, but as that complex was too small and outdated for the newly envisaged centre, most of it had to be dismantled. The only substantial parts of the old castle that were kept were the majority of the structures on the southern side of the former Mazoir lower courtyard, which became the outer perimeter of the new castle. The line of the outer walls, U, W and even S1 on its eastern side, were not simply retained but were soon heightened to form the outer line of defence of the concentric castle. One addition was the new vault (V) that ran parallel to the old one (W) in its entire length.

Shayyāl and Hasanayn Muḥammad Rabīʿ, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1954–75), 3: 165.

[18] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4: 311.

[19] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 77.

[20] Ibn al-Furāt (Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Furāt), *Ta'rīkh ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, nd), 7: 195; 'Annales de Terre Sainte', ed. R. Röhricht and G. Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 (1881): 427–61, at 457.

[21] Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, 137 n. 2.

[22] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 77–81.

[23] Abu'l-Fiḍāʾ (al-Malik al-Muʿayyid ʿImād al-Dīn Abu'l-Fiḍāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAmr ibn Shāhīnshāh ibn ʿAyyūb), *al-Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Maḥmūd Dayyūb, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1997), 2: 355.

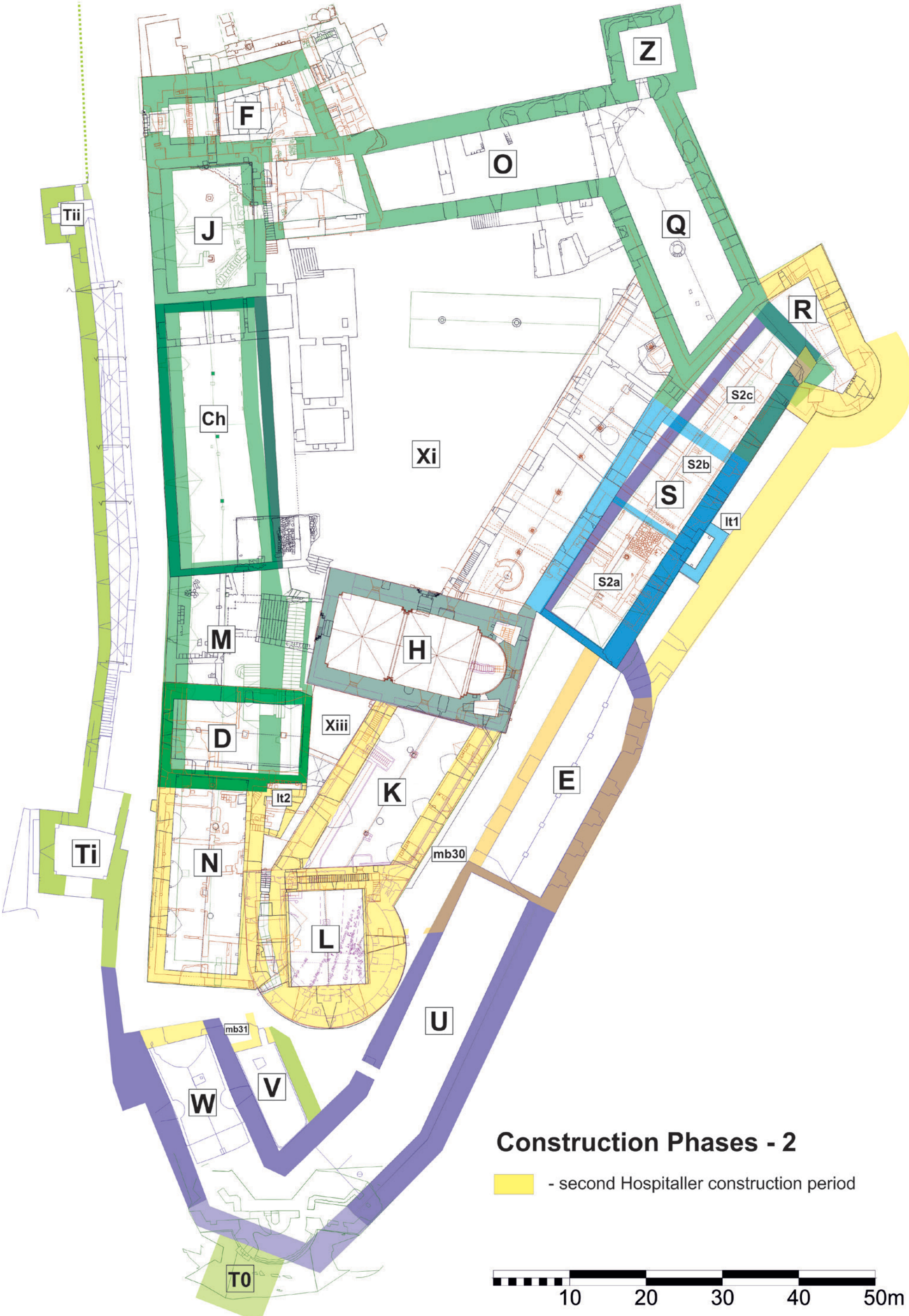


Figure 1.3. Margat: second Hospitaller construction period in the citadel (*drawn by B. Major*).

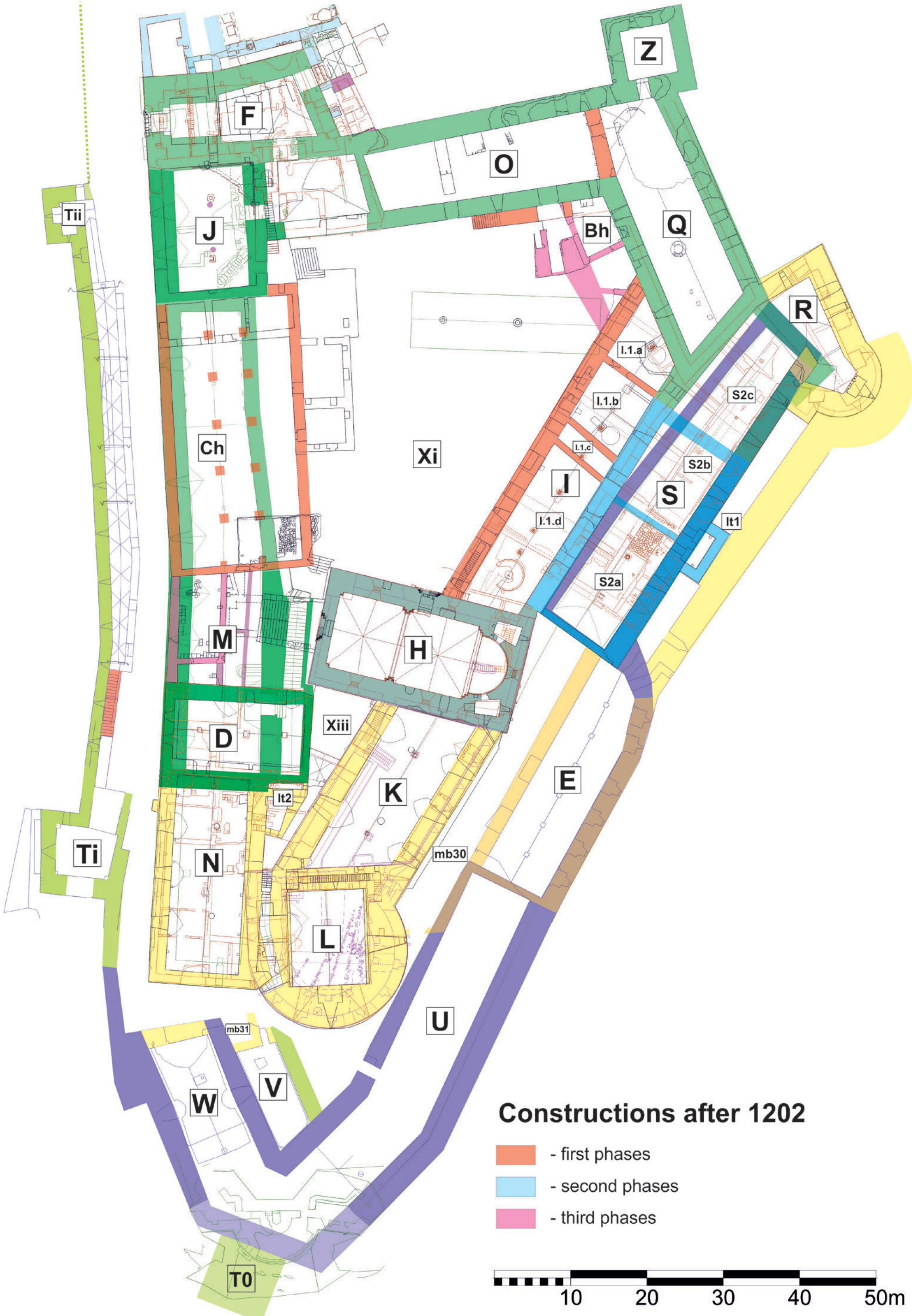


Figure 1.4. Margat: Hospitaller constructions in the citadel after 1202 (*drawn by B. Major*).



Figure 1.5. Margat: citadel from the south-west, with the outer wall and the gate tower Ti of the early Hospitaller period in the foreground and behind it the western façade of the citadel with the following buildings from left to right: inner gate tower (F), J, M, chapter house (Ch), kitchen (D), N. Behind it the buildings of the church (H), K and the donjon (L) can be seen from left to right (*photo: B. Takáts*).

The old defensive line was at the same time considerably lengthened in a northerly direction on the western side of the plateau. This new outer wall on the west was enhanced with three square towers (Fig. 1.5). The most southerly (Ti) was a huge two-storeyed gate tower, which became the principal gate into the outer perimeter of the fortification. The next two rectangular flanking towers towards the west (Tii and Tiii) were followed by the gate (A), which at this early date was still of minor importance compared to Ti. Gate A was the principal entry into the suburb, which was still protected by its old walls, but through it one could also approach the castle from the north. These new structures, just like their Mazoir predecessors, were built of the local vesicular basalt which was usually shaped very roughly. Finer dressing was reserved for the ashlars covering the façade of the gate-tower Ti, the quoins of the main structures and the stones framing the openings, including the arrow-slits. Most of the arrow-slits in this period were framed with the much softer *nari* limestone.

If the Mazoirs had not already constructed the tower (T0) at the southernmost tip of their outer wall, where the vaults U and W met, then, in this early period, the Hospitallers must have done so. If it was built in this early phase, then in common with the rest of the early Hospitaller towers, it was probably square. It is this corner tower, the 'tour de l'Eperon', that is mentioned as having been sapped and then collapsing during the Mamluk siege of 1285.[24]

[24] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 78–79.

Commencing the construction of the inner castle

Work on the new castle could have started as soon as the outer wall was in a defensible state, although there is no information as to the condition the castle at the time when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's armies passed by, a mere seventeen months after the Hospitallers had purchased the site. The construction works on the new castle entailed demolishing the previous structures, cutting a main ditch to separate the new inner fortification from the rest of the plateau and designing the extremely complex water-management system. These two latter activities also provided valuable construction material, mostly vesicular basalt.

The main objective was the rapid establishment of a defensible inner ring of fortifications. Examination of the walls shows that they were constructed in a number of phases, albeit in one main construction period. One of the first buildings to have been begun was the church (H),[25] which is among the largest ever built in a Crusader castle. Its nave measures 18.9 × 10 m terminating in a 7.8 m wide semi-circular apse, which is flanked by two rectangular rooms. Of these, the southern one served as the sacristy and the northern as an oratory.

Another early building was the southern part of the vaulted hall S2 (S2a-b) that was erected over the former Mazoir hall S1, with interior dimensions 35 × 9.5 m. This might have served as the first dormitory of the new garrison, which was still relatively small in numbers. A clear indication of its residential function was the 7.7 × 3.3 m latrine tower (lt1) added to it on the eastern side and the large window openings. Hall S2a-b was divided into two unequal parts from the very beginning, as is clearly indicated by the two entrances to the latrine tower, the identical number of doors and windows in each part and the scanty remains of the partition wall detected during the excavations. As such it is tempting to see it as the early dormitory for the knights and the sergeant brothers in arms.

The western side wall of S2a-b organically continued towards the north to form the eastern wall of a new L-shaped hall (the later Q and O). This L-shaped hall ran along the newly excavated ditch forming the northern boundary of the castle (Fig. 1.6). As the south-eastern half of this complex included a huge oven with an internal diameter of 5 m and it is probable that there was a similar structure right beside it to the north, it is reasonable to assume that this eastern half of the L-shaped hall was intended as the castle's main bakery, possibly also serving the suburb.[26] At the northernmost apex of the L-shaped hall a large rectangular corner tower (Z), measuring 11.3 × 10.7 m, was built flanking the ditch and the northern walls of the castle.

The western façade of the new castle consisted of a number of imposing buildings stretching from the edge of the northern ditch to a little south of the line of the church (Fig. 1.5). The first and most spectacular construction was the inner gate-tower complex (F), which formed the northernmost element of this western defensive line. As in the case of the southern gate-tower of the outer walls (Ti), it was faced with neatly cut ashlars. The ground-floor level (F1) was the gate-passage itself, with three gates opening in different directions. The one opening on to the western façade was the entrance from outside the castle. Having once

[25] Balázs Major and Éva Galambos, 'Archaeological and Fresco Research in the Castle Chapel of al-Marqab: A Preliminary Report on the Results of the First Seasons', in *The Military Orders* 5: *Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Farnham, 2012): 23–47, at 28.

[26] See Mayssam Youssef, chapter 10 in this volume.



Figure 1.6. Margat: citadel from the north (*photo: B. Takáts*).

passed through it, one could continue towards the main courtyard of the castle (Xi) through a gate facing south or towards the suburb through an eastern gate opening on to the northern ditch. The first-floor room of the gate-tower featured a delicately carved gothic window, opening above the western gateway. The second floor above it had a room (F2a) 20.4 × 8.9 m in area covered by a wooden ceiling and with at least two neatly constructed windows, one looking towards the west and the other to the north. Adjoining this from the south, a rectangular room (F2b) measuring 10.8 × 9 m was built with a cross-vaulting system of nine bays resting on four central pillars. As the plan of this room resembles the plan of a gate-chapel widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it would be reasonable to assume that the bishop of Valenia resided in the gate-tower complex, with his private residence in room F2a and his chapel in F2b. Next to the gate-tower complex to the south was building (J); it was originally of three storeys, 16.2 × 12 m in interior area and with a barrel-vaulted ground floor room (J1) and, above it, a neatly executed hall (J2). This latter hall had a wooden ceiling and could have served as the bishop's reception room. Above it was another room (J3) with a similar wooden roof, but at a much lower level.

The western side of the castle in the first construction phase continued with an enormous pointed barrel-vaulted range (M), 60.3 m long and 9.1 m wide, which was the main storage area of the castle and served as an undercroft to two main upper-level structures.

From the excavations and a study of the sculpted stones collected during the surveys, it becomes clear that the most important building standing on vault M was the first chapter hall of the



Figure 1.7. Margat: computer-aided reconstruction of the interior of the chapter house (*reconstruction by G. Buzás; graphics by G. Buzás and Zs. Vasáros*).

castle (G).[27] In its early phase this was a rectangular structure with an interior area measuring 12.5 × 34.3 m. Its height was probably 12.5 m. The hall's interior was divided into two aisles by three central columns, which supported a sequence of arches, which in turn supported two parallel timber wagon ceilings (Fig. 1.7).

The southern end of vault M also supported a rectangular hall (D), 17 × 7.8 m in interior area (Fig. 1.8). Given the number of relatively large windows on its western side, this hall must have been intended to be the main kitchen from the outset. Further proof of its function came to light during the SHAM excavations, when a large kitchen hearth complex emerged from the debris covering the floor. This construction consisted of four separate circular hearths with diameters varying between 1 and 1.3 m. They shared a common chimney shaft formed by a double wall of a single line of ashlars built at their entrance. The vents over their mouths were served by a common flue, 0.38 m wide, comprising a double diaphragm wall, each membrane being a single ashlar in thickness, which rose the full height of the vault to allow the smoke to escape through a vent at its apex.

27 Gergely Buzás, 'Two Chapter Houses at al-Marqab: A Study in Architectural Reconstruction', in *The Military Orders* 5: *Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Farnham, 2012): 49–64.

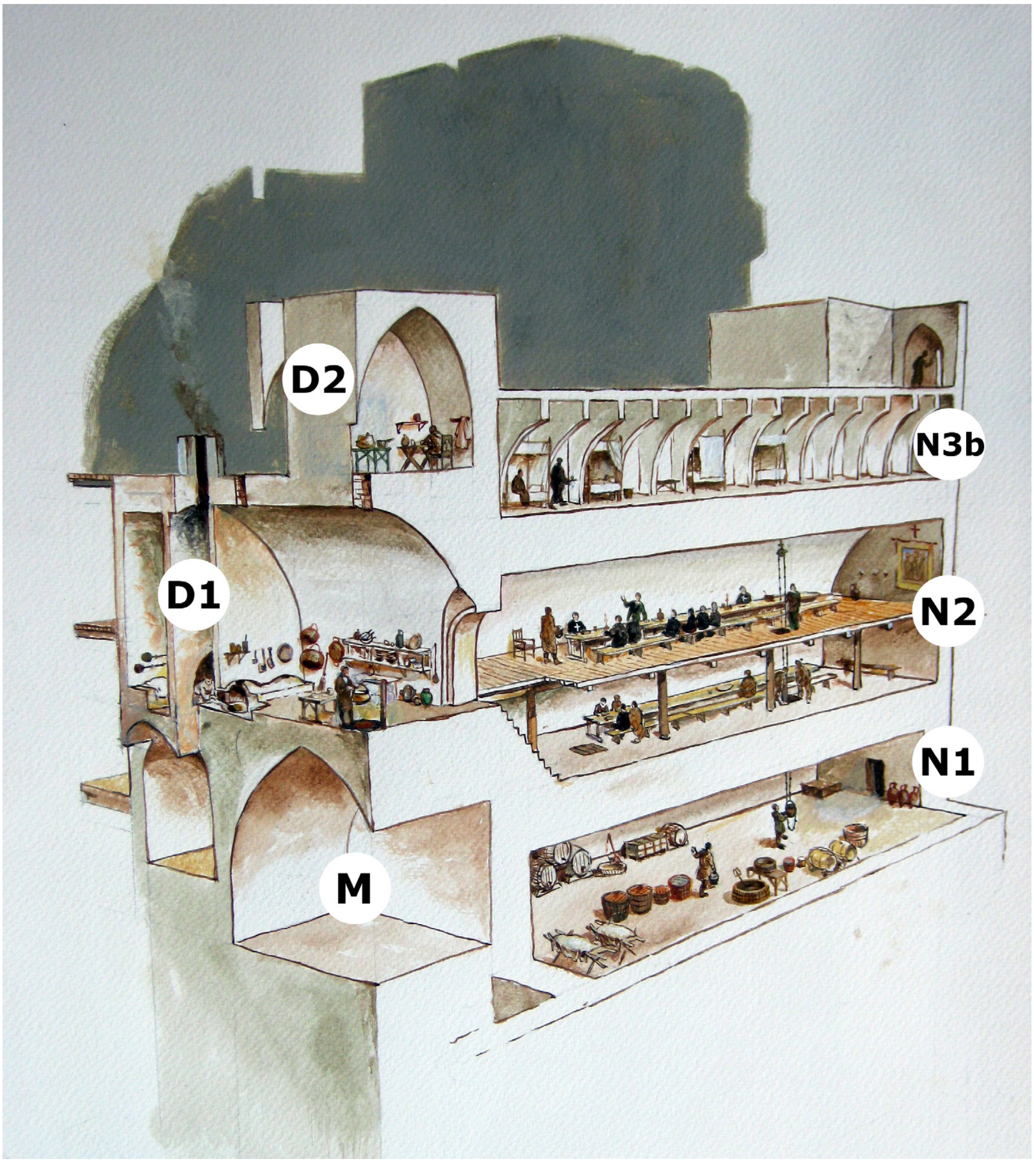


Figure 1.8. Margat: cut-away section of the western wing of the citadel with the possible functions reconstructed (*reconstruction by B. Major; graphics by M. Incze*).

The original southern gate of the castle interior, which comprised a huge pointed-arched opening with framing stones carved from *nari* limestone, was located under the eastern half of hall D. From this arch a pointed-arched vaulted corridor 24 m long led up into the interior of the castle, its stepped northern end emerging from below the north side of the stairs in front of the church. This corridor provided the only approach to vault M, its large segmental-arched doorway opening from the western side of the corridor.

The southernmost corner of the early Hospitaller inner castle would have been closed by a curtain wall running from the south-eastern corner of hall D to the southern side of the

church (see Fig. 1.2). At this latter point on the southern façade of the church traces of this later demolished wall can clearly be seen. The small courtyard (Xiii) formed by this enclosure wall could have been approached through the narrow opening between the north-eastern corner of hall D and the south-western corner of the church, and it also had direct access from within the church through a pointed arched doorway in its southern wall. Given its close proximity to the church, it might have been reserved for the clergy, and it is likely that there was there a building of some sort, providing at least temporary accommodation for them in this initial phase of construction.

Another development at the end of the first period of construction work was the addition of a 13 m northward extension to hall S2 (S2c), with a small projecting rectangular turret at its north-eastern corner. This structure could only have provided minimal flanking fire and was definitely intended as a temporary solution before the next phases of the second construction period. It is very likely that this could have been the first time that a new floor was erected on top of the fully developed S2. It is also highly probable that the architects of S2 were already planning a superstructure on the western half of the vault at the time of its construction. This is indicated by the positioning of the ventilation shafts not at the apex of the vault, which would have been normal, but slightly to the east. In that way they left the apex area free for constructing the eastern wall of the new hall on top of S2, which ran all along the line of the apex. The latrine tower of complex S was also raised high enough to be accessed from the rooftop of vault S2. The new hall built over S2 lay over its western half for 43 m with a 5.5 m wide interior space. It was covered by flat wooden roofing, the nails of which surfaced in large numbers during the excavations. This hall could be reached by wooden staircases from the main courtyard of the castle.[28]

The last phases of the first construction period was marked by the completion of the first Hospitaller castle on the site of the mostly demolished Mazoir one. This castle employed rectangular forms, and as in the case of the outer walls, the majority of the roughly cut ashlars on its façade were of vesicular basalt, often reused from the former Mazoir buildings. The window and gate openings and a large portion of the arrow-slits were framed by neatly carved limestone blocks, often of the *nari* type.

The surveys and the excavations of SHAM resulted in the discovery of a huge fortified suburb on the western slopes directly below the castle. The archaeological data show that life in the suburb began at the end of the twelfth century and was probably triggered by the destruction of Valenia in 1188. The citizens seem to have followed their bishop in taking refuge at the castle and established a new town below the fortified mountaintop with a number of well-constructed houses and at least two small churches.[29] It is also very likely that the fortification of this area and its links to the new castle started at an early stage. This development certainly involved the construction of a 'barbican' or a concentration of fortified structures around the southern gate of the suburb right below the southern gate-tower (Ti) of the castle, to which it was connected.

[28] Balázs Major, 'Medieval "light construction buildings" on top of the vaulted halls of al-Marqab Citadel (Syria)', in *Castelos das Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 2014), 2: 165–81, at 168–69.
[29] Major, 'Where was the Town of Valenia?', 123–27.

The Second Construction Period

Not long after the entire perimeter of the Hospitaller castle had been enclosed, new work commenced (Fig. 1.3). There are a number of architectural indications that this second phase was planned from the outset, but the necessity of erecting defensible structures fast meant that the construction of the new, enormous and evidently costly structures had to be postponed into a second period. The building work from this new period is clearly discernible, as most of its structures were built using solid or 'massive basalt', as opposed to the vesicular basalt employed in earlier structures, and the same stone was used for door and window surrounds. The 'massive basalt' ashlars were more neatly worked smaller, and more uniform in size than the vesicular ashlars. This was also the period when the architects started to employ rounded forms for the most strategic buildings.

The builders of the second construction period concentrated their efforts primarily on further strengthening the castle, and the main building activity took place in the large open area of the southern courtyard of the outer enceinte facing the castle. Here building work started with the dismantling of a number of older or temporary structures. These included the northern end of the Mazoir-period vault W and the parallel part of the adjacent building V, which had been constructed in the first Hospitaller period. The northern end of vault V was given a new entrance and also a small room with a cupboard niche (mb31). The southern enclosure wall of the citadel was also destroyed and the elevated rock surface of the courtyard was lowered by several metres. The spacious newly cleared area saw the erection of four principal structures: in the centre was the *donjon* (L); to the west of it the refectory complex (N); and connecting the *donjon* to the chapel a new residential wing (K). The fourth structure from the same period was the new vaulted hall E to the east of building K. The masonry of these interconnected buildings leaves no doubt that they were constructed as part of a single campaign, a conclusion reinforced by the fact that many of the functions they fulfilled were absent from, or underrepresented in the earlier phase of the citadel.

The most spectacular structure from this period was the *donjon*. This was intended to serve as the main bulwark against enemy artillery, which would have been anticipated as coming from the south or east. To this end, the walls facing these directions were given a semi-circular shape. The two main floors in the interior had rectangular halls with pointed-arched vaults covering an area of 12.6 × 10.7 m. Both the ground-floor and the first-floor halls were equipped with a single latrine closet, serviced by two latrine chutes. The latrines were built for the use of the high-ranking official sleeping in the adjacent alcove. The alcoves, also one on each floor, were incorporated into the western side of the tower. In addition to the arrow-slits, the first-floor hall had two larger windows and a number of cupboard niches built into the walls, indications that it was the castellan's headquarters (Fig. 1.8). It was essential for the castellan to have suitable storage for the documents relating to the enormous territories belonging to the fortress, as was also reflected in statute 23 of the chapter-general of 1262:

> ... it is decreed that every prior beyond the sea should have a register, which he should keep in his private cabinet (*segrete*); in this register should be entered all the rents, lands, vines and meadows; this register every bailiff (i.e. commander) should have and receive from his prior, that is to say of everything that relates to his bailiwick.[30]

[30] *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099–1310*. trans. Edwin James King (London, 1934), 59.

The area of the first-floor residence was actually doubled by a wooden mezzanine floor, which rested on large wooden beams inserted into putlog holes set at the lower third of the 8.8 m high space. It is noteworthy that another room (L3) was inserted into the haunch of the vault on the eastern side of the first floor. This had its main approach via a staircase that started from the first-floor hall in the northern rear wall of the *donjon*. With an internal area of 10.2 × 3.3 m, this small room would have been the private apartment of a high-ranking official, as is apparent from the private sleeping alcove inserted into its eastern wall and by the little room in its southern end that seems to have served as a urinal. This room, with its door opening into the interior, had a drainage channel leading through its west wall and, built into its floor, a huge clay jar that would have had been used to store the water needed for flushing.[31] Room L3, with its close proximity to the possible residence of the castellan could well have been the private apartment of the head of the writing office. Margat is one of the few castles that had its own chancellery.[32] The top of the donjon was provided with a covered wall walk and above it ran another crenellated *chemin de ronde*. The full height of the donjon when complete was around 24.5 m.

The new eastern wing (K) that was built between the donjon and the church had two floors, both covering an interior measuring approximately 24 × 10 m. The ground-floor hall (K1) had a huge cistern beneath its floor, which served as the key clean water supplier for the citadel and was filled by an elaborate water-collecting and cleaning system, using the water from the roofs of the church, building K and possibly the donjon. The first-floor hall of the building (K2) must have been built to serve as the new dormitory of the knights. This was connected to the 'residence of the castellan' by a door in its southern wall and had a staircase leading directly into the church, thereby assisting the brothers in fulfilling their numerous religious obligations. In the haunch of the eastern vault of K2 a narrow, barrel-vaulted room was inserted, which could have served as the chancellery, as this place was approachable both by the staircase from K2 and, by a wooden bridge supported by consoles, from room L3, the supposed residence of the head of the chancellery. This room also had a number of cupboard niches.

As can be observed from the masonry textures, the construction of the large rectangular building (N) as the continuation of the western wing of the citadel was going on in tandem with the building of the adjacent donjon and building K (Fig. 1.4). The large ground-floor hall (N1), measuring 22.5 × 9 m and lit by only one slit-window, was a storeroom for the refectory and, given its unique and almost metre-wide rounded ventilation shafts, must have served as the main cellar from which wine barrels were brought up to the refectory. References to the provision of wine at meals are relatively frequent, and the most telling one is found among the so-called statutes of Margat dated between 1204 and 1206.[33] The hall above (N2), measuring 25.5 × 9.9 m, was the main dining area of the citadel and was lit from the west by a double row of windows. This, combined with the series of corbels in the eastern and western sidewalls and the fact that the kitchen door opens half way up the northern wall of the hall, makes it evident that the refectory was divided by a wooden mezzanine floor. The upper hall, with its own stepped entrance from the neighbouring courtyard, might have served as the knights' refectory, and the lower one, with its doorway also on the eastern side of the hall, as the dining

[31] A rare but simpler parallel dating from the 1160s or 1170s is found on the corridor leading to the constable's chamber in the keep at Orford; see Susannah Charlton and Susan Kelleher, *Orford Castle* (London, 2011), 11.
[32] Jochen Burgtorf, 'The Military Orders in the Crusader Principality of Antioch', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean* 1: *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader Principality*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and David Michael Metcalf, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 147 (Leuven, 2006), 217–46, at 222–23; *Rule*, trans. King, 72, 79.
[33] *Rule*, trans. King, 42.

area of the sergeant brothers. The south-eastern corner of the uppermost level of building N was provided with a small, rectangular room (N3a) attached to the western wall of the donjon and contained a cupboard niche; otherwise the top of N remained unbuilt at this time and had only a crenellated parapet.

The proximity of the huge refectory and the dormitory required the provision of adequate sanitary facilities. The former southern gate of the citadel was therefore walled up and had a latrine tower (lt2) attached to it with four chutes; there was an additional ground-floor toilet area to the south of this new latrine tower. The small courtyard (Xiii) bordered by the kitchen (D), the church (H) and building K was also intended to be covered in this period, as is evident from the corbelling on the façade of K and the unfinished doorway at first-floor level spanning the narrow space between the church and the kitchen. For unknown reasons this project was never completed, as can be seen from the impact of the trebuchet stones on the southern façade of the church, which otherwise would have been protected.

The other main building of the second construction period was the large hall (E), 31 m long and 8 m wide, placed on top of the eastern wall of the outer castle immediately north of the Mazoir vault U. This hall, with its large windows on the eastern side, corbelling in the northern part for a gallery and a number of spacious niches, seems to have been another dormitory. This interpretation is also supported by the presence of a ceramic pipe inserted into its vault, which was intended to carry a rope to operate a bell on the top.[34] As the hall was in the outer ward it is not impossible that it was intended for the mercenaries or turcopoles serving in the Hospitaller garrison.

The area between the parallel buildings of K and E was also intended to be covered from the beginning. With this in mind, the eastern walls of building K were constructed with a line of corbels and new corbels were inserted into the eastern wall of the church, which had originally been built in the first construction period. These corbels supported a wooden roof whose eastern end rested on the top of hall E. From the slight difference in the height of the separate levels, it is evident that the flat roof sloped slightly towards the top of building E so as to shed rainwater. This new covered area (mb30) – roughly 43 m long and 4.5 m wide – had a gate in the south and five pointed-arched alcoves with cupboard niches inserted into the thickness of the western wall and the vault of hall E. It too was intended to provide additional accommodation.

Once this covered area was ready, the northern half of the vault U was also covered with a wooden ceiling. This was supported on its western side by a newly erected wall at least 10 m long and on the east by the eastern outer wall.

The last main element in the citadel during the second construction period was the building of the new north-eastern corner-tower R (Fig. 1.10). This huge rounded tower was attached to the northern end of hall S2, covering the former turret, which was now partially incorporated into the supporting wall of the new structure. An outer wall, with vaulted rooms behind it and a crenellated *chemin de ronde* on the top, was built in front of hall S2 and R. This meant that the eastern side of the castle was provided with a similar kind of concentric defensive system to that which already existed on the west along its entire length.

[34] On the use of bells in the Hospital, see *Rule*, trans. King, 62.

An ambitious project of developing the defences of the whole mountain plateau on concentric principles along the whole perimeter of the suburb also began in the second construction period. In front of the steep rocky crags crowned with the old defensive line, comprising a wall of varying quality with scarcely effective rectangular turrets, a new outer curtain wall was created more than 10 m high (Fig. 1.1). It had a huge, counterscarped dry ditch in front of it on the east and partially on the north; the ditch is also likely to have continued on the west. A careful examination of the texture of the faces of this enormous enceinte and the morphology of the elements employed (tower structures, arrow-slits and other openings, water-troughs) prove that this was constructed in several segments, probably by different teams. In line with the new trends, the flanking towers erected on this new outer wall were all semi-circular in plan, but, despite a general resemblance, the individual towers differ. They all have their own distinct floor plans and interior arrangements, and none used the same scaffolding, which might indicate that construction work on the outer walls proceeded simultaneously. Another apparent difference is that the towers on the eastern side stand one storey higher than the walls, while those on the western side and the single surviving tower on the north have their platforms on the same or nearly the same level as the wall walks of the outer walls.

At the end of the second construction period the whole mountain top was protected by a double line of defensive walls. However, the concentric principles at the strongest point, the castle, were not employed consistently. The inner line of defence had several weak points in the form of doorways leading into the ground-floor vaults of N1 and S1 that were hard to defend and the northern side of the castle facing the inner suburb had only one line of vaulted structures plus the rock-cut ditch in front of it.

After 1202

In spite of these intensive construction activities, the surviving historical sources contain no specific references that can help with the dating. However, the earthquake of May 1202 seems to provide one major date that can be used as a *terminus ante quem* for many of the buildings. SHAM's earthquake studies have identified traces of this earthquake both at Margat and at other sites.[35] The most evident legacy of the earthquake is to be seen on the south-western façade of the upper section of the donjon in the form of a huge V-shaped displacement. As the donjon was the last element to be completed in the second construction period, all the other buildings from the first and second periods have to be dated to before 1202. This conclusion attests to the tremendous efforts that the decimated Order put to refortifying the Crusader States after the cataclysm.[36]

The donjon with its maximal wall thicknesses of 5.5 m survived the earthquake, but some other elements of the fortification seem not to have been so lucky. The building most likely to have been destroyed by this event was the delicate structure of the first chapter hall, which would have received shocks from the direction where it was most vulnerable. It is almost certain that

[35] Miklós Kázmér and Balázs Major, 'Distinguishing damages from two earthquakes – Archaeoseismology of a Crusader castle (al-Marqab citadel, Syria)', *The Geological Society of America. Special Paper 471* (2010): 185–98; Miklós Kázmér and Balázs Major, 'Sāfītā castle and rockfalls in the "dead villages" of coastal Syria – an archaeoseismological Study', *Comptes Rendus Geoscience*, 347 (2015): 181–90.

[36] Having the multi-storeyed concentric fortification constructed in less than fifteen years is a remarkable accomplishment but was not impossible. Castles much-needed in active front lines could have been built rapidly, as the better documented late thirteenth-century example of the concentric castle of Harlech in Wales proves. Arnold J. Taylor, *Harlech Castle* (Cardiff, 2002), 5–9; idem, 'The King's Works in Wales 1277–1330', in *The History of the King's Works* 1: *The Middle Ages*, ed. Howard M. Colvin (London, 1963), 293–408, at 357–65.

this was the event that caused its complete dismantling, and the coming of the Chapter-General sometime between 1204 and 1206 necessitated the construction of a new chapter house on the same site but on a much larger scale. This was a hall with an interior area of 37.2 × 18.6 m. It was divided into three aisles with two rows of seven rectangular pillars that carried the cross-vaults at an estimated height of 12.5 m above the floor.[37] There was not much time between the earthquake and the Chapter-General, when dozens of brothers had to be provided with a meeting place, and the brief time at the disposal of the builders might be the reason for the apparently hasty work. Between the southern façade of the recently constructed chapter house (G) and the kitchen (D) a new building was erected (mb32). As an earthquake with the strength of the one in 1202 must have ruined high structures in the foreground of the chapter house, it is very likely that the considerable heightening of the western outer wall to the north of gate-tower Ti and the addition of its delicate stairs was after this event.

Another area that is likely to have been affected by the earthquake is the L-shaped vaulted range O-Q bordering the northern ditch of the castle. From the remains preserved in the walls it is evident that the angle where the two barrel-vaults met was covered internally by a very wide cross-vault, which is unlikely to have survived the extra stress posed by the tremors and could well have collapsed. The new construction resolved this structural problem by inserting a partition wall between the vaults and replacing the cross-vault with a continuation of Q's barrel-vault to the north (Fig. 1.10). Of these, vault Q already had a huge oven area in its southern half, but a new one was now installed adjacent to the new partition wall at its northern end.

If Ibn Wāṣil's description of the siege of 1204/05 did mention the predecessor of the present-day Crusader guard tower above the port area as having been demolished by the besieging Aleppan army,[38] then the present tower, which survives to its full height and shows no sign of repair, must have been built after this date. The general design and the use of well-carved, small 'massive basalt' ashlars both for the wall facing and the quoins, would date the structure to the second main construction period at the castle and certainly not to the first phases.

Less certain is the construction date of the long vaulted range I, attached to the western side of hall S2. That such a structure was planned from the beginning is made probable by the fact that the high quality, smoothly carved ashlars facing the northern side of the church did not extend into the area that was later covered by the vault (Fig. 10). As this vault was planned from the outset to serve as a place for industrial activity, the medieval burial discovered in 2010 at its southern end parallel to the foundations of the church is likely to have predated its construction.[39] If we accept the recent radiocarbon dating of the burial to after 1210 and that the deceased would most likely have been buried in the still open courtyard beside the northern entrance of the church, then the building certainly post-dates the Chapter-General. The vaulted range was 46.5 m at its longest point with an average width of about 8 m and was divided into three individual halls by the walls of corridors that connected the main courtyard to the two main doorways of S2. The southernmost hall (I.1.d), where a furnace, a number of carefully plastered masonry basins and three sunken areas with water-collecting

[37] Buzás, 'Two Chapter Houses at al-Marqab', 53–59.
[38] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 3: 165.
[39] Balázs Major, 'A Medieval Burial in Qalʿat al-Marqab and its Facial Reconstruction', *Hungarian Archaeology* (Spring 2014): 1–4.



Figure 1.9. Margat: first-floor room (L2) of the *donjon* looking north with the sleeping alcove in the left, putlog holes and consoles of the wooden mezzanine floor and numerous cupboard niches in the walls.

basins were excavated, is likely to have served as the laundry area of the castle (Fig. 1.9). The next two halls (I.1.b and I.1.a) seem to have been used to prepare the bread for the ovens operating in the adjacent bakery hall Q to the north. There were three large alcoves inserted into the western façade of hall I with cupboard niches and a wooden forebuilding supported by three corbels, which might have been designed to provide a modest residence for the overseers of the work inside the workshops of hall I.

The construction of a bathhouse (B) covering 77 m^2 in the north-eastern corner of the main courtyard (Xi) bordered by buildings O, Q and I, was in progress simultaneously with the construction of I or immediately followed it. The bathhouse seems to have been extended in two further construction periods, finally covering 185 m^2 in its ground floor, and it is likely to have had an additional floor above it covered by a wooden roof.[40]

The construction of vaulted range I meant that building S3a on the western half of S2 now had a large terraced building and a stone staircase up to its two western doors (Fig. 1.10). It is not improbable that this was the time when the former hall (S3a) on top of S2 was enlarged by a number of rooms with thin walls formed from a single thickness of cretaceous limestone blocks on the south-eastern quarter of S3 (area labelled S3b). The interior of the area of the basalt-constructed hall of S3a also received a number of partition walls from the same material. The SHAM excavations on the terraces above S2 and I revealed a rectangular room with limestone benching the length of its walls, which must have been used as a small chapter

[40] Balázs Major, 'Bathing in the Medieval Latin East. A Recently Discovered 13th Century Bathhouse in al-Marqab Citadel (Syria)', *Hungarian Archaeology* (winter 2013): 1–7.

house. As amongst the debris of S3b the holder of a thurible was also found, it is very likely that these less substantially built living quarters were intended for the clergy serving the neighbouring chapel.[41] The area also had at least one bathtub. At a later and still unknown date the open rooftop of the southern end of vaulted range I was equipped a rounded base for a treadwheel crane. This new structure covered a former ventilation shaft of hall I.1.D and was intended to lift heavy weights – probably trebuchet elements and projectiles – from the central courtyard to the top of vault I and then to the terrace over the church.[42]

Sometime after 1202 the building N also had a new construction placed on its roof (Fig. 1.6). As the original structure was designed with a crenellation on the open terrace over the refectory, its closing with a rectangular hall (N3b) on the western half and having an adjacent building (N3c) on the east was clearly later. As this new hall N3b was built of the same neatly worked cretaceous limestone ashlars and its wooden roofing was supported with the same style of transverse arches as in the extensions of S3b, it is likely that both would have been under construction at around the same time. This area had a neighbouring building at its northern end (D2), which shared the same chimney with the kitchen (D1), and so it is tempting to see it as another, lesser kitchen. As the statutes recommended having a separate 'table' for the knights' infirmary,[43] the lightly constructed building N3a could itself have been the knights' infirmary and would have been in close proximity to their dormitory.

Another building that underwent considerable changes in the thirteenth century was the western gatehouse complex (F and J) (Fig. 1.10). The earliest addition to it was a covered wall-walk with arrow-slits overlooking the rock-cut ditch on the west. At a later date this defensive feature was screened off by a huge arch spanning the ditch and supporting a small hypocaust-heated bathhouse. The now functionless interior of the wall-walk housed at its southern end the furnace that heated the hypocaust system.[44] The supposed reception hall in J2 also underwent serious changes, as its flat wooden roof was replaced by a delicate rib-vault supported by two pillars. The neatly carved decoration at the springing of the rib-vault can be dated on stylistic grounds to the 1220s and 1230s, and it is probable that the construction of the bathhouse also belonged to this substantial upgrading of the residence.

Among the last significant Hospitaller constructions that are possible to date approximately was the western gate-tower (A) of the outer enceinte of the castle. This huge construction of two storeys was built over the early Hospitaller-period gate erected in the first construction phase to serve as the main gate of the inner suburb on the plateau and also provide the approach to the main gate (F) of the citadel. The springing of the ribs decorating the vault shows a design that can be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century,[45] and this date has been corroborated by recent radiocarbon analyses of charcoal samples from its mortar.

Historical events prompt speculation that construction work was continued throughout the Hospitaller period at Margat. The loss of the sister castle of Crac des Chevaliers followed by the forced evacuation of a number of their other possessions by the peace treaty concluded

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[41] Major, 'Medieval "light construction buildings"', 169.
[42] Balázs Major, 'Medieval Cranes in Qalʿat al-Marqab, Syria', *Hungarian Archaeology* (winter 2012): 1–5.
[43] *Rule*, trans. King, 42.
[44] Gergely Buzás and Balázs Major, 'Crusader and Mamlūk Ḥammām-s in al-Marqab', in *25 Siècles de bain collectif en Orient: Proche Orient,* Égypte *et péninsule Arabique*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac et al., 4 vols (Cairo, 2014), 2: 553–70, at 555–56.
[45] Deschamps, *Châteaux des croisés* 3: 274.



Figure 1.10. Margat: interior of hall I.1.d. looking south.

with the Mamluks left Margat as the last major Hospitaller base. That may well have resulted in an increase of the number of the troops and other personnel at the castle. The ongoing construction activity or its planning is hinted at by the 1271 treaty forbidding any fortifying at the site and permitting only the reconstruction of recently burnt houses in the suburb. The precise mention of the construction of a vault gives a unique glimpse on the Crusader building activities of Margat never mentioned in such detail before:

> The house newly constructed in the castle of al-Marqab by the order of the Master, who was unable to complete the construction of the roofing of the vault with masonry and limewash, shall not have its construction completed, and it shall remain as it is. It is in the outer ward of the castle, a little towards the eastern bank as mentioned above.[46]

Conclusion

Recent research indicates that the castle of Margat was being developed by the Order of Saint John very rapidly in spite of the huge losses suffered at Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187, the same year that the site was purchased. The fortifications seem to have followed a well-planned sequence, and the construction phases determined by the time and resources available paid special attention to the need for the site's constant defensibility being as it was in close proximity to the enemy. The first building period was spread over in several consecutive phases and

[46] Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 56. The original Arabic text places the site of this unfinished structure in the middle of the castle, which seems to be in the inner suburb: al-Qalqashandī (Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī), *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1910–20), 14: 50.

created a new outer wall and a castle within, arranged in a concentric defensive line. The second period completed the castle area with buildings, many of the towers being in the new rounded or semi-circular style. Construction after the earthquake of 1202 was not limited to the reconstruction of the damaged areas. Some considerable new additions were also made, and it is clear from the contemporary sources that Margat continued to be developed until its fall to the Mamluk armies in 1285.